

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 NEA-11 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00  
DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05  
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 SSM-03 ARA-10 OMB-01  
TRSE-00 /120 W  
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R 271304Z JUN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8438  
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NAIROBI 9569

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PORG, UNGA, XA  
SUBJECT: PRE-UNGA CONSULTATIONS

1. DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY DALLEY AND OFFICE DIRECTOR  
HOLLOWAY MET JUNE 26 WITH PERSEC OF KENYAN MINISTRY OF  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, NICHOLAS N'GANG'A, TO DISCUSS ISSUES OF  
INTEREST IN CONNECTION WITH 33RD UNGA. N'GANG'A MADE  
FOLLOWING COMMENTS ON SPECIFIC ISSUES RAISED BY DALLEY AND  
HOLLOWAY.

### A. HUMAN RIGHTS

KENYAN POSITION ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS BEEN CONSISTENT.  
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KENYA HAS ALWAYS FAVORED STRONG SAFEGUARDS AGAINST HUMAN  
RIGHTS ABUSES. GOK RESPECTS AND SYMPATHIZES WITH USG  
HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY. IT IS PREPARED TO KEEP PRESSING  
FOR RECOGNITION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND  
ELSEWHERE. HOWEVER, GOK SEES TASK AS DIFFICULT ONE WHICH  
CAN BECOME EVEN MORE DIFFICULT IF NOT CAREFULLY HANDLED.  
GOK IS CONCERNED THAT CREATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONER

MIGHT CREATE MORE PROBLEMS THAN IT WOULD SOLVE. WHAT KENYA WANTS IS AN ENTITY LOOKING AFTER SUBSTANTIVE HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS IN CONTEXT GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE TO ALL COUNTRIES. IT IS MORE IMPORTANT TO HAVE GENUINE PROGRESS THAN TO HAVE PROGRESS BLOCKED BECAUSE CERTAIN MAJOR COUNTRIES DO NOT SUPPORT INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH. MORE WORK CAN BE DONE BY MAKING PRESENTLY EXISTING COMMISSION MORE EFFECTIVE THAN BY ESTABLISHING NEW ENTITY SUCH AS A HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

- APARTHEID AND DECADE AGAINST RACISM.

KENYA BELIEVES THAT ISSUES SUCH AS RACISM AND ZIONISM SHOULD BE DISENTANGLED. GOK DOES NOT BELIEVE ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE SHOULD INTRUDE INTO HANDLING OF WHAT ARE ALMOST UNIVERSALLY ACCEPTED AS CONDEMNABLE WRONGS INVOLVING RACISM IN SOUTH AFRICA. THAT SAID, HOWEVER, GOK BELIEVES THAT HANDLING OF SOUTHERN AFRICA SITUATION HAS CREATED MORE DISTRUST OF WESTERN NATIONS THAN ANYTHING ELSE. WEST IS PERCEIVED AS DRAGGING ITS FEET. AFRICANS CANNOT UNDERSTAND THAT BECAUSE ZIONISM IS EQUATED WITH RACISM IN A RESOLUTION, FOR THAT REASON ALONE U.S. CANNOT SUPPORT EFFORTS RELATED TO ELIMINATING RACISM IN SOUTH AFRICA. FACT THAT U.S. DOES NOT FULLY PARTICIPATE IN DECADE, WHATEVER THE REASON, REINFORCES PERCEPTION THAT U.S. NOT COMPLETELY COMMITTED TO DECOLONIZATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. IN MAKING DETERMINATION THAT

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IT CANNOT PARTICIPATE IN MID-DECADE CONFERENCE, U.S. SHOULD BEAR IN MIND THAT SUCH A DECISION HAMPERS EFFORTS OF MODERATE COUNTRIES SUCH AS KENYA TO BE SUPPORTIVE.

B. SOUTHERN AFRICA.

GOK APPRECIATES ROLE U.S. HAS BEEN PLAYING. FOR ITS PART GOK HAS TRIED TO KEEP DIALOGUES GOING. FONMIN WAIYAKI HAS URGED BOTH SWAPO AND PATRIOTIC FRONT TO GRAB ANY OPPORTUNITY PROMISING REAL MAJORITY RULE. BUT IT SHOULD BE BORNE IN MIND THAT KENYA IS COMING UNDER INCREASING PRESSURE BECAUSE IT HAS STATED THAT IT UNDERSTANDS AND APPRECIATES EFFORTS BEING MADE BY SOME WESTERN COUNTRIES. IT IS CRITICIZED IN CONNECTION WITH SLOW PACE AT WHICH WEST SEEMS WILLING TO MOVE ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES BECAUSE, IT IS CLAIMED, BY ENDORSING WESTERN POSITION GOK IS UNDERMINING EFFORTS TO BRING RAPID SOLUTION TO ISSUES. IF GOK APPEARS TO BE SAYING IT APPRECIATES USG POSITION ON RACISM-ZIONISM ISSUE IT WILL APPEAR TO BE SPEAKING FOR USG. THIS IS AN IMPRESSION KENYA WISHES TO AVOID.

-ZIMBABWE

GOK PARTICULARLY APPRECIATED CONDEMNATION BY U.S.  
OF INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN ZIMBABWE. KENYA WAS "HORRIFIED"  
BY TERMS OF THAT SETTLEMENT WHICH WOULD CONDEMN ZIMBABWE  
TO DECADES OF CIVIL STRIFE. NOW, THANKS TO EFFORTS OF  
U.S. OFFICIALS SUCH AS AMBASSADOR YOUNG, THERE APPEARS TO BE  
AT LEAST A CHANCE THAT ALL AFRICAN PARTIES CAN COME  
TOGETHER. KENYA HAS SAID THAT A SETTLEMENT WHICH DOES NOT  
INVOLVE ALL LEADERS WILL NOT BE STABLE. THIS PERCEPTION  
DERIVED IN PART FROM KENYA'S OWN INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE.

- SOUTH AFRICA

SOUTH AFRICA WILL CONTINUE TO CREATE MISTRUST BETWEEN  
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AFRICA AND U.S. UNTIL U.S. ELABORATES AND IMPLEMENTS A MORE  
PRECISE PROGRAM FOR DEALING WITH SOUTH AFRICA AS IT NOW  
EXISTS. IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT U.S. KEEP MOMENTUM ON SOUTH  
AFRICA ISSUE IN ORDER TO RETAIN CREDIBILITY AND SUPPORT FOR  
MODERATE AND REASONABLE POSITIONS ON NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NAIROBI 9569

E.O. 11652: GDS  
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C. MIDDLE EAST AND PALESTINE

GOK WENT ALONG WITH SADAT INITIATIVE AND, INDEED, WOULD SUPPORT ANY COURAGEOUS STEP WHICH MIGHT PRODUCE A SETTLEMENT IN MIDDLE EAST. HOWEVER, GOK HAS BEEN "TREMENDOUSLY DIS-APPOINTED" BY BEGIN'S INTRANSIGENT REACTION WHICH IS NOT IN LONG-TERM INTEREST OF ISRAEL. THERE WAS HARDLY ANY NEED, FOR EXAMPLE, FOR BEGIN TO STATE THAT HE IS GOING TO SETTLE HIMSELF IN ONE OF SETTLEMENT SCHEMES IN OCCUPIED TERRITORY. THIS CREATES A VERY POOR CLIMATE. KENYA WOULD  
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LIKE TO SEE ISRAEL BE MORE RESPONSIBLE. BY MAINTAINING ITS PRESENT APPROACH, ISRAEL CAN LOSE GREAT DEAL OF GOOD WILL EVEN AMONG THOSE PREPARED TO GIVE IT. GOK UNDERSTANDS ISRAEL'S CONCERNS BUT CANNOT UNDERSTAND ITS UNYIELDING, UNCOMPROMISING STANCE. SADAT'S WILLINGNESS TO ARRIVE AT COMPROMISE SOLUTION PRESENTS ISRAEL WITH UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY. KENYA HAS NEVER BEEN EXTREME WITH RESPECT TO ISRAEL. GOK HAS TAKEN STEPS REQUIRED BY OAU RESOLUTIONS (SUCH AS BEEAKING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS), BUT KENYA HAS RETAINED ITS WILLINGNESS TO SERVE AS INTERLOCUTOR FOR ISRAEL WITH KENYA'S ARAB FRIENDS, IF ISRAEL WERE TO BE REASONABLE. UNFORTUNATELY, GOK IS COMING TO POINT WHEN ITS OWN CREDIBILITY CAN BE CHALLENGED. IN FACE OF ISRAEL'S POLICIES IT MAY NO LONGER BE IN POSITION TO RETAIN HERETOFORE MODERATE APPROACH REGARDING RESOLUTIONS CONDEMNING ISRAEL IN INTERNATIONAL FORA.

D. PUERTO RICO.

N'GANG'A OFFERED NO SUBSTANTIVE COMMENT ON THIS ISSUE. HE MERELY TOOK NOTE OF DALLEY'S PRESENTATION OBSERVING THAT KENYA HOPED MATTER WOULD NOT BE RAISED. HE SAID KENYA REGARDS PUERTO RICO AS LARGELY WESTERN HEMISPHERE ISSUE. WHEN IT COMES UP IN NON-ALIGNED CONTEXT, HE SAID, OTHERS BRING IT UP.

E. UN RESTRUCTURING AND FINANCING.

GOK HAS BEEN SUPPORTING RESTRUCTURING OF UN BODIES SUCH AS IN THE ECOSOC. DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES, MANY OF WHICH ARE UNDER THE ECOSOC, MUST BE FOLLOWED UP BY APPROPRIATE MACHINERY WITH STREAMLINED FUNCTIONS AND STAFFING. THERE HAS BEEN TOO MUCH TALKING AT COUNCIL LEVEL AND NOT CONFIDENTIAL

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ENOUGH WORK AT AGENCY LEVEL AT UN. THERE MOST DEFINITELY EXISTS LACK OF WHOLE-HEARTED FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR DIFFERENT AGENCIES. KENYA IS EXPOSED PARTICULARLY TO LENGTHLY ARGUMENTS ABOUT UNEP BUDGET. GOK BELIEVES THAT MUCH OF THE DEBATE CONCERNING THE BUDGET OF AGENCIES SUCH AS UNEP REPRESENTS A "BACK TRACKING" ON OBLIGATIONS WHICH DOES NOT CREATE RIGHT ATMOSPHERE FOR UN OPERATIONS AND UNDERMINES THE VITAL WORK OF THE UN AGENCIES. KENYA DOES NOT, FOR EXAMPLE, GO ALONG WITH THOSE WHO DO NOT PAY THEIR SHARE FOR PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS, ALTHOUGH IT RECOGNIZES CERTAIN COUNTRIES HAVE CONCERNS WHICH NEED TO BE LOOKED INTO SERIOUSLY. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THERE WOULD BE MUCH SUPPORT FOR PERMANENT PEACEKEEPING UNITS IN MEMBER STATES. UNANSWERED QUESTIONS REGARDING FINANCING AND OPERATIONS OF SUCH MISSIONS REMAIN. AT SAME TIME, GOK HAS PROBLEM WHEN UN CONTINUES TO SPEND MORE MONEY THAN IT HAS, PARTICULARLY WHEN BULK GOES FOR ACTIVITIES NOT CONSIDERED HIGH PRIORITY. GOK DOES NOT WISH TO IMPLY THAT UN IS POORLY RUN, BUT IT MUST DEVELOP MORE RESPONSIBLE APPROACH TO RESOURCE UTILIZATION.

- OVERVIEW COMMITTEE

LEVEL OF LDC DELEGATIONS AT LAST OVERVIEW COMMITTEE SESSION REFLECTED DISILLUSIONMENT BROUGHT ABOUT BY EXCESSIVE CONCENTRATION ON MATTERS OF DETAIL RATHER THAN PRINCIPLE. UNTIL THERE IS INDICATION OF GREATER WILLINGNESS TO MAKE PROGRESS PROBLEM OF LOW LEVEL DELEGATIONS IS LIKELY TO PERSIST ALTHOUGH GOK REMAINS INTERESTED IN CONTINUING NORTH/SOUTH DIALOGUE IF TRUE PROGRESS MADE.

2. AFTER COMPLETION OF DISCUSSION OF SPECIFIC ISSUES RAISED BY DALLEY AND HOLLOWAY, N'GANG'A REITERATED VIEW THAT GOK AND OTHER MODERATE COUNTRIES WOULD BE COMING UNDER ENORMOUS PRESSURE FROM "PROGRESSIVES" IN UNGA AND CONFIDENTIAL

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OTHER MULTILATERAL FORA THIS YEAR. HE APPEALED FOR

U.S. SUPPORT AND UNDERSTANDING FOR KENYA IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES.

3. COMMENT: N'GANG'A IS IN POSITION TO SPEAK AUTHORITY FOR GOK ON UN ISSUES WHICH WERE DISCUSSED. DALLEY AND HOLLOWAY FOUND HIM TO BE WELL PREPARED AND ARTICULATE.

4. PERHAPS MOST NOTABLE ASPECT OF N'GANG'A'S REMARKS WAS CLEAR IMPLICATION RUNNING THROUGH THEM THAT DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND MIDDLE EAST ARE MAKING IT DIFFICULT FOR KENYA TO RETAIN ESSENTIALLY MODERATE STANCES ON THESE ISSUES. GOK RHETORIC HAS ALWAYS BEEN SHARP ON SOUTHERN AFRICA ISSUES, BUT IN RECENT YEARS IT HAS SUPPORTED WESTERN INITIATIVES TO BRING ABOUT PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS TO ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA PROBLEMS. KENYA IS EAGER TO REMAIN WITHIN AFRICAN MAINSTREAM ON THESE ISSUES AND WHAT N'GANG'A WAS SUGGESTING WAS THAT IF EVENTS FORCE MAJORITY OF AFRICAN STATES TO MORE RADICAL STANCE, KENYA IS LIKELY TO BE WITH THEM.

5. N'GANG'A COMMENTS ON MIDDLE EAST WERE STRONGEST WE HAVE HEARD TO DATE FROM SENIOR KENYAN OFFICIAL. KENYA'S BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WITH ISRAEL HAS CONTINUED ON INFORMAL BASIS DESPITE ARAB-ISRAELI ISSUE AND THIS RELATIONSHIP, WHICH IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TO KENYAN ARMED FORCES AND GENERAL SERVICES UNIT, IS NOT LIKELY TO BE AFFECTED BY DEVELOPMENTS AT UNGA. BUT THAT NOTWITHSTANDING IT WOULD BE REASONABLE, BASED ON N'GANG'A'S COMMENTS, TO PROJECT THAT KENYA WILL SUPPORT HARD LINE ON MIDDLE EAST ISSUES IN NEW YORK.

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## Message Attributes

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